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ABSTRACT

While little attention has been given in historiography to the language of historical narrative, and the role language plays in portraying history, the discipline of linguistics, and particularly the subdisciplines of discourse analysis and functional linguistics, have given increasing attention to the discourse of history. Recently, a group of systemic functional linguists in Australia have begun to develop a framework for investigating this area of "interpersonal" meaning. The framework is referred to as "appraisal," which includes resources for construing affect, judgment, and appreciation. The judgment subsystem is found especially useful in this context, and is illustrated in analysis of two sample historical narratives, an examination of the rhetorical effect of patterns of judgment in history texts, and a critical look at the evaluative tools currently available for revaluing the past in history classrooms. Contains 37 references. (MSE)

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Reconstruals of the past - Settlement or Invasion? The role of JUDGEMENT analysis.

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1. Introduction. Approaches to history as a discursive practice: the role of evaluation

For many, history is a record of the past and the purpose of historians is to investigate past events, lives, institutions and beliefs in order to find out 'how things really were' and 'to tell it how it actually happened'. In truth centred cultures this conception of history, in which the past is 'there' to be discovered, is relatively unproblematic. As we enter post modern 'perspectival' cultures, however, history as factual record becomes increasingly problematised. In this milieu the past becomes a multiplicity of heterogeneous and conflicting histories (Lyotard, 1987) and the purpose of historians is surely to display the constructed and contextually contingent nature of the historical 'record' (Burke, 1991).

In the late twentieth century, therefore, as the past ceases to be a place in which past truths can simply be 'discovered' it is the present which becomes foregrounded. In this semantic space the reality of the past is no longer to be found but 'created'. Constructing histories becomes a socially reflexive practice of heteroglossia in which the past is continuously deconstructed and reconstructed from multiple points of view. And since it is both deconstructed and reconstructed through mediating texts and discursive strategies this gives language a central role in the formation of historical knowledge (e.g. Callinicos, 1995, Foucault, 1972, Goldstein, 1994).

An important question to ask, therefore, is what are the discursive practices currently available to historians and apprentice historians for generating these multiple versions of the past? To what extent are these changing? In particular, what are the linguistic tools for evaluating and re-evaluating events in order to give new and different meanings to the past? And, what makes these 'reversionings' plausible?

To date these questions have not been systematically or exhaustively explored. A range of discipline areas have, however, provided insight into the nature of historical knowledge and historical practices, including its evaluative dimension. The areas include philosophy of history (e.g. Lacapra, 1983, Ricoeur, 1981), rhetoric (e.g. White, 1989, Crosswhite, 1996), applied linguistics (e.g. Struever, 1985), and education (e.g. Edwards, 1978, Blanco and Rosa, 1997). Whilst much of this research and theorising has focused on the wider discipline area of history, the recontextualisation of history for school purposes has also been considered, largely by applied linguists and educuationalists.

Of particular significance and relevance to the issues and questions outlined above is the exploration of the nature of historical objectivity and subjectivity and, related to this issue, the role of the historian in interpreting and evaluating past events. In philosophy of history, for example, the interpretative role and 'moral' position of the historian has been an ongoing focus of study. Some contemporary theorists question

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the group of historians who claim that they "simply try to understand and describe the people whose actions they study" and challenge their assertion that contemporary historians are no longer "defenders of public morality". They argue that "it is difficult to avoid moral judgements altogether as so many of the words we use have moral overtones, suggesting at least approval or disapproval" (McCullagh,1984, 225). Surprisingly, though, there has been little systematic investigation of the kinds of moral judgements that **are** made or of the linguistic means for making these judgements. Instead, philosophers of history have tended to explore how the forms or genres of historical writing have served to objectify and naturalise particular readings of the past (e.g. Atkinson, 1978, Callinicos, 1995) and, in this context, have given some consideration to the construction of the 'objective', 'value free' 'Voice of history' (Burke, 1991, 6). However, they have given relatively little attention to the linguistic strategies and resources that constitute this 'Voice of history' and which is designed to persuade readers of the validity of the narratives presented.

Within the discipline of rhetoric, discourse as 'situated practice' has been emphasised - the notion that discourse and therefore reasoning and what counts as evidence is "very different in different communities and different situations"(Crosswhite 1996, 37). This notion suggests that as the situation and role of the community changes (for example the community of the historian) so too should their discursive practices. Crosswhite, for example, proposes that new forms of argument may "include "twofold" or "threefold" arguments without deciding among them" (Crosswhite 1996, 202). This concurs with Burke's proposal:

> "More and more historians are coming to realize that their work does not reproduce 'what actually happened' so much as to represent it from a particular point of view. To communicate this awareness to readers of history, traditional forms of narrative are inadequate. Historical narrators need to find a way of making themselves visible in their narrative, not out of self indulgence but as a warning to their reader that they are not omniscient or impartial and that other interpretations besides theirs are possible.
>
> (Burke, 1991, 239)

Analyses of historical writing have not, however, been carried out to see if there is evidence of these changes taking place. This is despite the changing attitudes to the nature of historical knowledge and the current interest in how different readings of the past are made and how these are injected with different value judgements depending on the context of the historian.

Similarly, few academics within history education make the language of history an object of their research or study and many maintain that far from possessing a specialised language, 'history is a subject closely related to human experience ... the least mysterious' of school disciplines (ILEA History and Social Sciences Inspectorate, 1994, 187). This is despite the fact that, as educationalists, they are concerned with the teaching and learning processes which enable students 'to make balanced judgments about the value of differing interpretations of historical events and developments in relation to their historical context' (DFE, 1995, 17) or understand 'the role language plays in historical interpretation and representation such as bias and propaganda.' (New South Wales Board of Studies, 1992, 15)

Other eductationalists, however, recognise the role of language in the apprenticeship process. They argue that a subject register provides the specialist with 'a set of coloured spectacles' through which he sees 'a world of objects that are technically tinted and patternised' " (Edwards, 1978, 63). And Blanco and Rosa, among others, argue the importance of students recognising the discursive dimension of historical knowledge so that they can "defend themselves from ready made stories" (Blanco and Rosa, 1997, 189) and 'the impressive array of discursive products geared to....persuade him or her of the truth of whatever message is transmitted, to affect his or her activities or to constitute his or her identity (Blanco and Rosa, 1997, 197)". Nevertheless, despite their recognition of the discursive nature of history, these researchers do not provide details on how historical knowledge is linguistically 'tinted and patternised'. Nor do they give insight into how teachers and students can unpick the rhetorical strategies that constitute historical discourses and which "compete for attention and credibility in the symbolic market" (Blanco and Rosa, 197, 1997).

In the domain of applied linguistics, on the other hand, particularly the subdisipline areas of discourse analysis and functional linguistics, there has been greater and more detailed attention given to discourse dealing with the past. Struever, for example, has focused on the use of discourse analysis as a way of describing "the use of acquired knowledge in the confection of the historical account" (Struever, 1985, 261). More recently critical discourse analysis (CDA) has been employed to study the ideological effects of discursive practices that use the past to reproduce and maintain power relations (e.g. Flowerdew 1998, Wodak, 1996, 1997). History recontextualised for pedagogic purposes has also been the object of linguistic analysis, particularly systemic functional analysis (sfl) (e.g. Coffin 1996, Coffin 1997, Veel and Coffin, 1996, Eggins, Martin and Wignell, 1987 and Wignell, 1994). The focus of some of these studies has been the wide range of tools available for creating perspective and for persuading audiences of the validity of a particular reading of the past. However, until recently, linguistic researchers have lacked a useful and coherent theoretical framework for specifically identifing the evaluative patterns in historical texts.

Recently, however, a group of systemic functional linguists working in Australia, in association with Martin, have started to develop a framework for investigating this area of interactional or, in sfl terms, 'Interpersonal' meaning (for a review of the research see Christie and Martin, 1997). Much of this research has been completed during educationally oriented research projects conducted by the Disadvantaged Schools Programme of the New South Wales Department of School Education under the heading of the 'Write it Right' programme. Underpinning the work was previous systemic functional theorising about Tenor (the relationship between language users) provide gloss (see Poynton 1985) and earlier work by systemicists in Birmingham and Nottingham. In the research reported on in this paper I draw on the framework in order to contribute to the relatively under researched area of evaluative meaning in historical discourse.

The framework is referred to as APPRAISAL. APPRAISAL includes resources for construing emotion (AFFECT), resources for judging behaviour in 'ethical' terms (JUDGEMENT) and resources for valuing texts and processes (APPRECIATION). In this paper I will draw on the JUDGEMENT subsystem of APPRAISAL to illustrate my main arguments. This system will be elaborated shortly in section 2. I will use this analytical tool as a way of unpicking the value judgements of two historical texts.

One of these texts (Text 1) was written by an apprentice historian and the other (Text 2) was written by a history teacher. Both these texts are drawn from data collected during the Write it Right research project mentioned above: one of the major foci of this project was the investigation of the discursive practices of school history. The data comprised approximately 1, 000 texts produced by teachers, students and textbook writers from across a wide range of secondary schools.

This article is concerned with several questions pertaining to these texts: What happens when students want to rewrite the past? What discursive resources are used to evaluate events in the past? How do students learn to give new/alternative values and meaning to past events? Does the use of these resources reflect in any way the changing nature of history as a discipline? In order to answer these questions I will draw on the tools of APPRAISAL.

An underlying assumption guiding my exploration of these questions is that the analytical tools of Appraisal will make it possible to reveal some of the key rhetorical strategies for construing value judgements. In fact I will argue that Appraisal analysis is able to show how evaluative meanings 'tint and pattern' in different ways the different stages of a narrative text. In other words it is able to reveal how an evaluative strategy unfolds across a text. I propose that it is the accumulative power of the evaluative strategy that makes it such a powerful positioning device. As a consequence I argue that linguistic analyses can be drawn on as compelling empirical evidence of the evaluative nature of historical texts, thus clearly destroying the illusion of history as a value free enterprise.

In discussing these issues, I would also like to pose, although I will not provide a detailed answer in this paper, an equally important question - what are the implications that a linguistic description of current discursive practices might have for subject specific pedagogy?

Whilst arguing for the usefulness of the JUDGEMENT subsytem of interpersonal meaning as developed within the sfl framework I am of course aware that tools from other forms of linguistic analysis, such as those from CDA, could provide useful and complementary perspectives. I am also aware that by focusing on JUDGEMENT and ignoring other interpersonal meanings I am providing only a partial picture of the complex interweaving of interpersonal resources within any one text. However, my aim here, is to highlight the value of just one of the key APPRAISAL resources in history. For this reason, I will not present the full, rich interpersonal texture of the narratives I refer to.

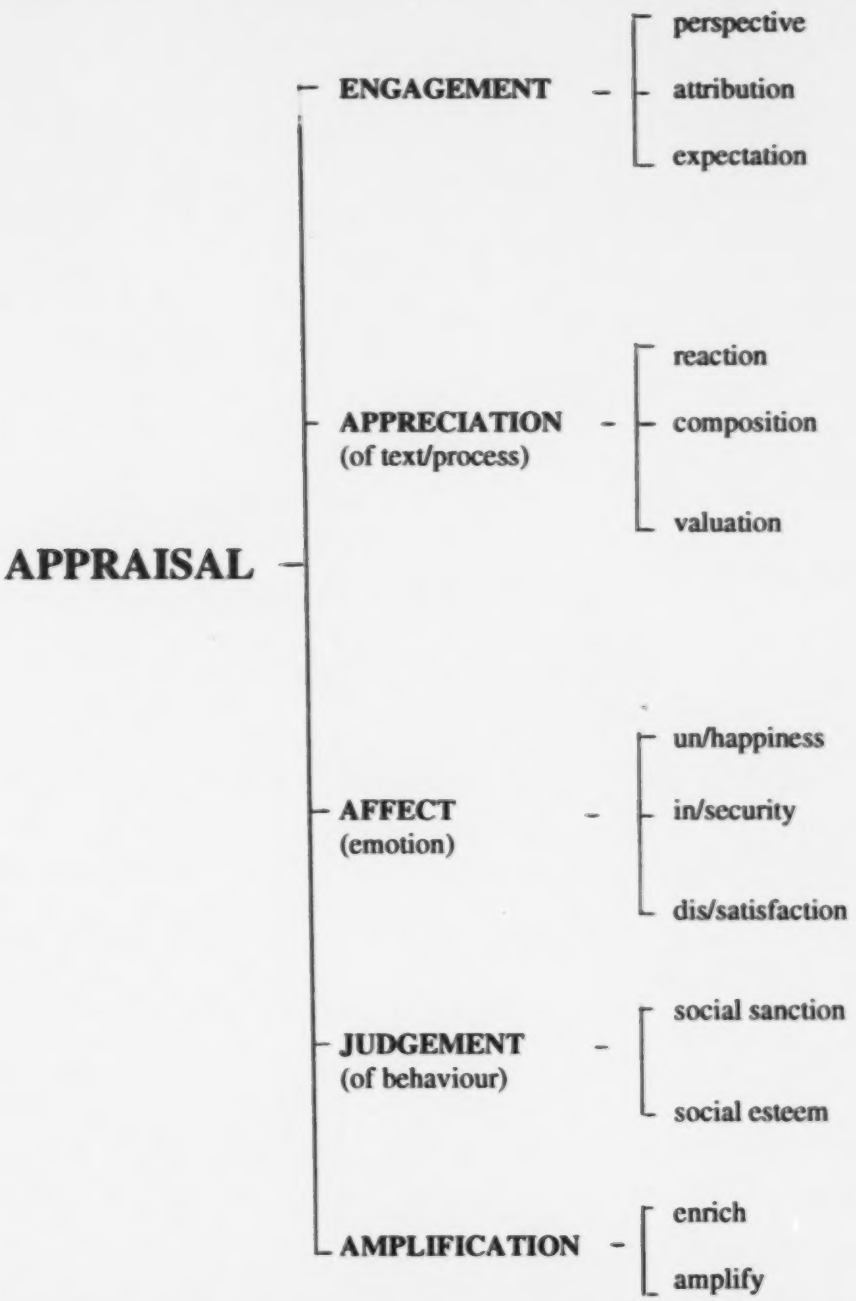
In order to develop my argument I will cover the following areas in turn:

- a brief outline of the framework of Appraisal in which the key subsystem of judgement is located
- an analysis of the deployment of Appraisal/judgement across two sample historical narratives
- an examination of the rhetorical effect of patterns of judgement in history texts with special reference to commonsense notions of 'objectivity'.
- a critical look at the evaluative tools currently available for revaluing the past in history classrooms

2. Systems for Appraising and Giving Value to the Past: a Systemic Linguistic Perspective

The appraisal framework outlined here is essentially shaped by the sfl model of language (for full detail of this model see Halliday, 1985/1994, Matthiessen, 1995, Halliday and Hasan 1976 and Martin 1992). This model is centrally concerned with showing how the organisation of language is related to its social use and implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the context in which it occurs. Discourse, in other words, is shaped by social situations, but it also shapes them. Sfl is, therefore, oriented to the socially constructive power of discourse and the APPRAISAL framework (see Figure 1) has evolved to enable analysts to see how evaluative discourse operates in different social contexts for different social purposes.

Figure 1 A provisional outline of appraisal resources in English



In sfl, then, APPRAISAL is a set of systems which give language users choice in terms of how they appraise, grade and give value to social experience. The sub system of AFFECT, for example, is a set of language resources for appraising experience in affectual terms, for indicating the emotional effect of an event. For example:

> These people looked like gods with white skin and clothes in different colours. They came on land. **I was scared very scared.**

The subsystem of JUDGEMENT also encompasses meanings which serve to appraise human behaviour but unlike affect does this by reference to a set of institutionalised norms about how people should and shouldn't behave. JUDGEMENT can, then, perhaps best be thought of as 'the institutionalisation of feeling' (Martin, 1997, 23). For example:

> They **were treated inhumanly by the white settlers**.

APPRECIATION can also be thought of as the institutionalisation of feeling but with reference to norms about how processes and products rather than behaviour are valued. APPRECIATION , perhaps moreso than JUDGEMENT and AFFECT, is related to field, since the criteria for valuing a process are for the most part institutionally specific. For example, within the context of history, VALUATION, a sub category of APPRECIATION, is used to give different values to causal and temporal processes. For example:

> Other **significant** changes that occurred as a result of the war were social, particularly the size and nature of the population.....

Two other systems included within the framework of APPRAISAL are AMPLIFICATION and ENGAGEMENT. AMPLIFICATION is a system for grading evaluations - 'turning the volume up or down'. For example:

> In this way **the enormous** losses that Aboriginal people have undergone, as a result of European colonisation might, to **some** extent be compensated for.

ENGAGEMENT is a set of resources for adjusting a speakers' commitment to what they are saying. Within this White (1997, 19) includes the discursive strategy of 'inter-textualisaton' whereby alternative voices and their views are inserted into the text. For example:

> **Some argue** that this is an indication that their struggle will continue and more gains will be made.

In the section above I have given a brief outline of APPRAISAL. This provides a context for a more detailed look at the subsystem of JUDGEMENT.

The first point to make about JUDGEMENT is that the framework was developed during Write it Right research into the language of the media in order to account for the various categories through which journalists, correspondents and editors pass judgement on newsworthy events and people (for more detail see Iedema, Feez and White, 1994). Not surprisingly - given that media news texts can be seen as 'the first drafts of history' - these categories have to date, provided a useful framework for analysing judgement in history. At the same time it should be pointed out that the JUDGEMENT framework is highly determined by cultural and ideological values and therefore different behaviours may be classified differently according to the set of social values to which the evaluator subscribes.

Thus the examples in the expanded JUDGEMENT framework below (figure 2) largely derive from Western, English speaking, mainstream, middle class positioning. For this reason, White argues that JUDGEMENT provides "one of the most explicit means by which writers/speakers can inscribe their heteroglossic position in a text" (White, 1997, 9). It should also be stressed that these categories are open to reformulation, depending on the results of further research in additional registers.

Social Esteem	**positive [admire]**	**negative [criticise]**
normality (custom) 'is the person's behaviour unusual, special, customary?'	standard, everyday, average...; lucky, charmed...; fashionable, avant garde...	eccentric, odd, maverick...; unlucky, unfortunate...; dated, unfashionable...
capacity 'is the person competent, capable?'	skilled, clever, insightful...; athletic, strong, powerful...; sane together...	stupid, slow, simple-minded...; clumsy, weak, uncoordinated...; insane, neurotic
tenacity (resolve) 'is the person dependable, well disposed?'	plucky, brave, heroic...; reliable, dependable...; indefatigable, resolute, persevering militant	cowardly, rash, despondent...; unreliable, undependable...; distracted, lazy, unfocussed... militant (see discussion below)

Social Sanction	**positive [praise]**	**negative [condemn]**
veracity (truth) 'is the person honest?'	honest, truthful, credible...; authentic, genuine...; frank, direct...;	deceitful, dishonest...; bogus, fake...; deceptive, obfuscatory...
propriety (ethics) 'is the person ethical, beyond reproach?'	good, moral, virtuous...; law abiding, fair, just...; caring, sensitive, considerate...	bad, immoral, lascivious...; corrupt, unjust, unfair...; cruel, mean, brutal, oppressive...

Figure 2: Judgement

As you can see in figure 2, two broad categories of JUDGEMENT are proposed - SOCIAL ESTEEM and SOCIAL SANCTION and each of these has a positive and negative dimension. JUDGEMENTS of esteem have to do with NORMALITY (how unusual someone is), CAPACITY (how capable they are) and TENACITY (how resolute they are). JUDGEMENTS of esteem, therefore, involve admiration and criticism but do no have legal implications. With JUDGEMENTS of social sanction, on the other hand, behaviour is morally or legally endorsed by a set of rules or regulations which are more or less explicitly coded in the culture. To breach social sanction is to risk legal punishment or, from a Western, Christian religious tradition, to risk committing a 'mortal' sin. Social sanction is divided into two sub-types: VERACITY, which turns on questions of truth (how honest someone is), and PROPRIETY, which turns on questions of ethics (how moral someone is).

A further point to make about APPRAISAL is that it may be realised in the lexico grammar either directly or indirectly as well as through a wide range of lexical and

grammatical resources. For example the word 'unjustly' in the following extract realises directly or 'inscribes' an explicit judgement - that the behaviour of the white invaders was unethical.

> It also demonstrated how unjustly the Aboriginal people were treated by the White invaders.

The system of notation used to code such an analysis would use the shorthand - to stand for negative. Notice too how inscribed judgement is marked as bold and underlined:

> It also demonstrated how **unjustly** the Aboriginal people were treated by the White invaders.
> (- propriety)

When APPRAISAL is realised indirectly a word or set of words is used to trigger or 'evoke' a particular judgement on the part of the reader. In this way the referential or, in sfl terms 'Ideational', meaning is exploited for its interpersonal effect. When interpersonal meanings are triggered through the selection and construction of ideational meanings they are referred to as Tokens of APPRAISAL. The following sentence, for example, would prompt many readers to judge the Europeans' behaviour as negative and lacking integrity:

> When the Europeans arrived in 1788 they occupied sacred land and destroyed Eora hunting and fishing grounds

The sentence would, therefore, be analysed as a Token of negative PROPRIETY. The notation used to code this analysis would be as follows:

> When the Europeans arrived in 1788 *they occupied sacred land and destroyed Eora hunting and fishing grounds* (T, - propriety)

Such a system of notation where T stands for Token and + for positive and - for negative will be followed in the APPRAISAL analysis that follows. Notice too how Tokens of JUDGEMENT are in italics and underlined.

3. Reconstruals of the past - Settlement or Invasion? (A JUDGEMENT analysis)

In this section I will use a JUDGEMENT analysis (as outlined above) to show how evaluative meaning works across a historical narrative. I will show how the use of JUDGEMENT 'tints and patterns' the narrative so that a particular perspective on past events is constructed. By using two narratives to exemplify reconstruals of invasion, colonisation and liberation in the context of British contact with Australian Aborigines, I demonstrate how school history serves to discursively construct the identities of the two different groups and the power relations that obtain between them.

First, using genre analysis (see Martin 1992), let us look at the key stages (labelled in the left hand margin) that a historical narrative or recount moves through in order to achieve its social purpose of recording past events (See Coffin 1994 for a full description of the text types or genres found in school history). Text 1 will show how

the recount moves through two main stages - Background and Record of Events . You will see that the function of the initiating Background stage is to summarise key historical processes which make more meaningful the events focused on in the body of the text. The Record of Events stage records and elaborates a temporal sequence of historical events. In many texts, including Text 2 (but not Text 1) there is also a Deduction stage. This optional stage functions to draw out the historical significance of these events.

Text 1.

Background

Since the time of white settlement in Australia, the Aboriginal people have been isolated from Australian society.

Record of Events

When the Europeans first arrived here the Aboriginals were slaughtered in their thousands, so much so that two hundred years later their numbers are substantially lower than when European settlement began.

Aboriginal children were taken from their families and put in orphanages where they were brought up by a white culture. Their ties with their heritage were cut.

Since then the break up of the Aboriginal community has left very few full-blooded Australian natives. Still they are isolated from the now multicultural Australia by the stigma that is attached to them.

Because Aboriginals have been set up in townships in the country, and have formed their own separate areas in the city , it highlights the barrier. In these areas unemployment is high, alcoholism is playing a devastating part, criminal activity is high and black deaths in custody is at an alarming number.

Many government bodies have been set up to help solve the problem such as the Inquiry into Black Deaths in Custody and The National Aboriginal Reconciliation Council. Funding for such groups has increased as well as the introduction of ABSTUDY, which is designed to keep young Aboriginals at school to gain better employment opportunities.

Within the Aboriginal community some groups are claiming land rights. They want back the land that was taken from them two hundred years ago. In this goal they have been so far unsuccessful only gaining a little of what they want.

We will now have a look at the same text from the perspective of a JUDGEMENT analysis. I should point out that this analysis is a product of a non critical or compliant mainstream reading position.

Text 1

Background

Since the time of white settlement in Australia, *the Aboriginal people have been isolated from Australian society* (- normality)

Record of Events

When the Europeans first arrived here *the Aboriginals were slaughtered in their thousands* (- normality), so much so that two hundred years later their numbers are substantially lower than when European settlement began.

Aboriginal children were taken from their families and put in orphanages where they were brought up by a white culture.(- normality) *Their ties with their heritage were cut.* (- normality)

Since then *the break up of the Aboriginal community has left very few full-blooded Australian natives*.(- normality) *Still they are isolated from the now multicultural Australia by the stigma that is attached to them.* (- normality)

Because Aboriginals have been set up in townships in the country, and *have formed their own separate areas in the city , it highlights the barrier.(*- normality) In these areas *unemployment is high*,(- tenacity) *alcoholism is playing a devastating part.* (- tenacity) *criminal activity is high* (- propriety) *and black deaths in custody is at an alarming number*.(- normality)

Many government bodies have been set up to help solve the problem such as the Inquiry into Black Deaths in Custody and The National Aboriginal Reconciliation Council.(+ propriety) *Funding for such groups has increased as well as the introduction of ABSTUDY, which is designed to keep young Aboriginals at school to gain better employment opportunities* (+ propriety)

Within the Aboriginal community some groups are claiming land rights. They want back the land that was taken from them two hundred years ago. In this goal *they have been so far unsuccessful only gaining a little of what they want* (-capacity)

From the analysis a clear picture emerges of how the identity of the two groups focused on - the Aborigines and British - has been constructed very differently (see figure 1 below for a summary of the analysis). This is despite the fact that the writer has not intruded into the text to make explicit judgements. That is, there is no subjective voice or modalised constructions such as - '*it seems to me that* the Aborigines were an unlucky people' - or - '*in my opinion* Aborigines were not

sufficiently resolute' - to draw attention to the writer's evaluative role. Nevertheless Aborignes are consistently judged throughout the text as being a fated or unlucky people (negative NORMALITY). As well, they are judged as lacking resolve (TENACITY), CAPACITY and ethics (or PROPRIETY) and in this way they are held responsible for compounding their own fate.

The British, on the other hand, escape negative JUDGEMENT. In fact it is striking that, whereas Aborigines are held up for appraisal throughout the text (12 counts altogether), only one JUDGEMENT is made of the British behaviour. And this behaviour - their bid to resolve a problematic situation - is ascribed as having positive ethics (PROPRIETY)>

In fact, rather than attribute agency to the white settlers as perpetrators of unethical acts the writer uses passive voice constructions to focus on the results of white behaviour. Thus, in the clauses 'the Aboriginals were slaughtered in their thousands' and 'Their ties with their heritage were cut' many readers would be positioned by the text to focus on the tragedy befalling 'the ill fated' Aborigines. In this way they are the 'done too ' both grammatically (through passive voice) but, as well, through being consistently made subjects of the writer's judgement (albeit indirectly realised). Ironically this focus on Aborigines would be applauded by many, given that traditional Australian school histories tended to elide their presence altogether.

However, as this analysis shows, the potential for reductionist and patronising interpretations is actually rendered more likely by this focus on Aborigines. Indeed I would argue that the text naturalises a particular reading position in which Aborigines are a people to empathise with and the British are a people who cannot be judged. This is hardly empowering from an Aboriginal perspective. This does not mean that a critical reader would not take the second step and ask questions about the agents of this tragedy but it does mean that non critical readings are likely to contribute to the perpetuation of the stereotype of Aboriginal passivity suffering the inevitable consequences of invasion.

Aborigines	**British**
8 x negative normality 2x negative tenacity 1x negative propriety 1x negative capacity	2 x positive propriety

Figure 1. JUDGEMENT Patterns in Text 1

In the second sample text, set out below, the JUDGEMENT analysis will reveal a somewhat different perspective on the history of Aboriginal and non Aboriginal contact. In this text we will focus in particular on the patterns of JUDGEMENT and how these map onto the generic stages of the recount.

Text 2

Eora Resistance to Europeans 1790-1816

Background

The Eora people had lived in the Sydney area for at least 40,000 years before the Europeans arrived. They had lived by hunting, fishing and gathering and believed that *they were the guardians of the land* (t, + propriety). This lifestyle did not last.

Record of Events

When the Europeans arrived in 1788 *they occupied sacred land and destroyed Eora hunting and fishing grounds* (t, - propriety). In 1790 the Eora people began a guerrilla war against the Europeans.

In 1794 the Eora, whose leader was Pemulwuy, attacked the European settlement of Brickfield. Thirty six British and fourteen Eora were killed during this attack. In the same year the Eora killed a British settler. Then the British ordered that six of the tribe be killed.

The Aborigines continued to resist the European invaders (t, + tenacity) by burning their crops and houses, taking food, destroying cattle and killing some settlers. In 1797 they attacked Toongabbie and within a week the farmers had to retreat and the farms were burned. In that year their leader, Pemulwuy, was captured by the British but later escaped.

By 1801 many settlers lived in fear of the Eora and the British started a campaign to destroy Aboriginal resistance. Troopers were sent to kill Aboriginal fighters and capture Pemulwuy. One year later settlers killed the leader in an ambush.

Other great Aboriginal leaders continued fighting against the white settlers (t, + tenacity). However, *the guns of the British were more powerful than the Aboriginal spears.* (t + capacity) *The British shot many of the Aboriginals* (t, - propriety) and *many others died of the diseases that the British brought* (t, - propriety).

Deduction

This period of black resistance in Sydney finally ended in 1816. It is a significant period in Australian history as it showed *the determination of the Aboriginal people to resist the invasion* (+ tenacity). It also demonstrated **how unjustly the Aboriginal people were treated by the White invaders** (- propriety).

In Text 2 the JUDGEMENT analysis shows very clearly how the identities of the British and Aborigines are constructed in rather different ways to those in Text 1. (See figure 2 for a summary of JUDGEMENT). This time JUDGEMENT is more evenly distributed across the two groups and the Aborigines are judged as being an ethical people with high resolve. Their only weakness seems to be a lack of gun power. The British, on the other hand, are consistently judged as lacking ethics, despite being militarily capable.

Aborigines	British
3x positive tenacity (1 inscribed)	1 x positive capacity
1x positive propriety	4 x negative propriety (1 inscribed)

Figure 2: JUDGEMENT Patterns in Text 1

In terms of the intersection of JUDGEMENT analysis with generic staging Text 2 shows a very clear pattern. That is, in the Record of Events stage there are no direct codings of JUDGEMENT but the events selected act as ideationalised Tokens of JUDGEMENT influencing the reader to interpret the behaviour of the Europeans and Aboriginals in a particular light. Thus the Eora are constructed as having positive TENACITY but negative CAPACITY (in terms of military technology) whilst the Europeans are constructed as having positive CAPACITY but negative PROPRIETY. These judgements accumulate across the Record of Events stage so that their explicit rendering in the Deduction stage is then read as a logical, inevitable outcome of, or conclusion to, the previous text. It is in this way that the text persuasively overturns traditional notions of European 'discovery' and passive native submission and replaces them with an interpretation of European colonisation as brutal invasion versus determined resistance.

3. Patterns of judgement in history texts: 'objectivity' as a rhetorical effect

The construction of explicit JUDGEMENT in the Deduction stage, which is linked to tokens of JUDGEMENT within the body of the text, is a typical rhetorical pattern in recount genres. It is this delicate interplay of interpersonal and ideational meaning at the level of discourse semantics which serves to construct a record of the past which appears objective, factual and logical but which, in fact, constructs a particular and therefore subjective perspective or interpretation. The writer appears to be letting events 'speak for themselves' but at the same time colours them with a significance that is ideological.

I would argue that the way in which JUDGEMENT is realised and deployed across a historical narrative is a powerful device for constructing an objective voice. White's research into authorial stance and the construction of media objectivity, albeit in a different register, confirms this strategic use of JUDGEMENT:

> Journalism as an institution is notorious.....for the philosophically contentious and self-interested claim that its primary text type, the news story is 'objective', 'factual' and 'impartial'.....rather, the semantics of reporter stance, the configuration of interpersonal values most often associated with the news item (in the case of JUDGEMENT , largely tokens - my words), enables these reports to naturalise the various cultural and ideological values by which they are invariably informed" (White, 1997, 2).

The analysis of texts 1 and 2 shows us how APPRAISAL analysis can reveal patterns in text, not simply isolated words. It shows us how indirect realisations of value judgements typically combine with more direct realisations and that their relative positions within the unfolding of the text is significant. Clearly this is an important rhetorical strategy within the discipline of history which, traditionally, has placed so much emphasis on 'objectivity'.

As well, APPRAISAL analysis enables the analyst to reason about overall tendencies in the construction of nations, people and groups. By being able to generalise about particular historical texts we can compare different historical interpretations.

4. The contemporary history classroom - tools for revaluing the past

This brings us to the questions we raised earlier in the paper - Does the use of evaluative resources in school history reflect in any way the changing nature of history as a discipline? Are students more conscious of how the past can be refashioned to suit different agendas and different value systems and positionings?

Certainly, in relation to the construction of recount genres, the evidence of text 1 and 2 suggests 'no' in answer to the first question. It seems that versions of the past continue to be construed as unproblematic, objective 'truths' (this is confirmed in the educational and narratology literature - see, for example, McDiarmid, 1994, Tanaka, 1994, Wills, 1994) and that rhetorical, evaluative strategies are 'invisibly' deployed to achieve the traditionally valued Voice of history.

There may, of course, be pedagogic and linguistic arguments for this. Pedagogically, some teachers will argue that stable, unified pictures of the past need to be presented before students can learn to deconstruct, destabilise and revalue previous interpretations. Linguistically, too, it can be argued that written arguments that draw attention to the subjective, interpretative, hypothetical and contingent nature of historical construction require more complex, abstract use of language. On this basis it can be argued that literacy development is facilitated if more categorical accounts of the past such as historical recounts, accounts and explanations are first mastered (see Coffin, 1997, for more detail).

Nevertheless, if students are to develop reflexive approaches to the construction of history which take account of its discursive, perspectival basis, I would argue that students need linguistic tools to do this. They need to be able to detect and unpick their own evaluative role in order to self consciously recolour and revalue their texts. A set of tools, such as those of APPRAISAL, will help them to approach text in a critical fashion and inject their narratives with self consciously chosen patterns of

JUDGEMENT. At the same time they will learn how the past can be rendered objectively and perspective presented as 'truth'.

If students are not introduced at some point to the means for managing evaluative discourse, can we claim, as some teachers do, that students are really 'rewriting the past'? Or is it simply that they are learning the newly sanctioned reconstruals of the past? And will they learn reconstruals that are more or less confronting for traditional mainstream histories? Texts 1 and 2 suggest that this will depend on the institutional and political context in which they are written rather than the individual student's individual judgement (as liberal humanists would want to believe). Text 2, after all, was written by a teacher who, institutionally, always has greater choice than does the school student over which version of the past to present . And in this case the teacher who worked in an inner city urban school with a high Aboriginal population happened to be politically active and 'leftish' in his beliefs.

Conclusion: The value of 'value' tools

In this article I have explored some of the discursive resources that are available to apprentice historians for evaluating events in the past. I have concluded that these resources contribute to a traditional view of history as an objective, value free discipline. I have also argued that APPRAISAL analysis, exemplified in this paper by the subsystem of JUDGEMENT, can enable us to see how an evaluative strategy unfolds across a text. The analyses of texts 1 and 2 are evidence of this. In these texts the analyses show how indirect realisations or 'tokens' of JUDGEMENT strategically combine with more direct realisations to create a persuasive and plausible, but inevitably ideologically skewed, account of the past. Thus in text 1 we have an interpretation of Aboriginal and non Aboriginal contact in which Aborigines are constructed as an ill fated and despondent people and the British as a people with ethics. In text 2, on the other hand, we have a different perspective on the same past. In this account of Aboriginal and non Aboriginal contact the Aborigines are construed as resolute and ethical and this time the British are portrayed as lacking ethics. In both texts these differential distributions of JUDGEMENT are compelling empirical evidence of the evaluative nature of historical texts.

Developing the Appraisal framework as a means of establishing this kind of evidence makes a contribution to history, education and applied linguistics. Nevertheless it is a framework that needs to be tested out in further research. With reference to the system of JUDGEMENT it will be particularly interesting to see how generalisable the categories are, beyond the contexts of the media and history. We are, of course, also aware that, for some linguists, the categories do not afford the same degree of replicability as within sfl do those of reference or exchange structure (at the level of discourse semantics) or those categories belonging to transitivity or mood (at the level of lexico grammar). To these critics, the attribution of different judgement analyses to the same phenomena, depending on social positioning, weakens the validity of the system. We, on the other hand, would argue that any theory that attempts to handle APPRAISAL must take into account how AFFECT, JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION are inscribed in and evoked by discourse and how they position different readers differently. In this way, within the context of education, teachers and students can achieve greater understanding of the range of voices within any one culture and the different kinds of reading and writing positions that are - consciously

or unconsciously - taken up. By "thinking harder about appraisal in our pedagogy and working out strategies for making what we teach usable" (Martin 1995) we give students greater control over an extremely powerful rhetorical device.

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